

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 13752 211327Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
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INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC

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EO 11652: XGDS -1  
TAGS: CH UR JA  
SUBJECT: SOVIET ACADEMICIAN ON JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY: LEADING SOVIET ASIAN SPECIALIST SEES  
JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY AT "CROSSROADS"; WELCOMES  
US EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN "CONTROL" OVER JAPANESE;  
HOLDS THAT RECENT ANTI-JAPANESE PRESS ATTACKS ARE  
DESIGNED TO COMBAT "ANTI-SOVIET" (PRO-CHINESE)  
"TENDENCIES" IN JAPAN AT A TIME WHEN TOKYO IS  
MAPPING A LONG TERM IF LIMITED REGIONAL POLICY.  
JAPANESE DIPLOMAT HERE STATES THAT ALTHOUGH SOVIETS  
ARE LESS ADEPT THAN CHINESE AT INFLUENCING  
JAPANESE POLITY, SOVIET MILITARY MIGHT MAKES IT  
"VERY DANGEROUS" FOR THE JAPANESE TO IGNORE SOVIET  
VIEWPOINTS AND INTERESTS. END SUMMARY.

1. A LEADING SOVIET SINOLOGIST AND CHIEF  
OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN AREA SECTION, USA  
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 13752 211327Z

INSTITUTE, VLADIMIR LUKIN, OUTLINED CURRENT  
SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF JAPAN TO EMBOFF DURING  
SEPTEMBER 16 CONVERSATION. (NOTE: JAPANESE  
EMBOFF HERE SAYS LUKIN WAS ONE OF THE MAJOR  
SPOKESMEN FOR THE SOVIET SIDE DURING RECENT  
JAPANESE-SOVIET ACADEMIC SYMPOSIUM.)

2. LUKIN SAID THAT SEVERAL YEARS AGO JAPAN HAD NO FOREIGN POLICY OTHER THAN CLOSE COORDINATION WITH US POLITICAL INFLUENCE AND MILITARY POWER. TWO DEVELOPMENTS HAVE CHANGED THIS: THE POST 1971 TREND TOWARD US DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE "ASIAN MAINLAND", AND THE CONTINUING GROWTH OF JAPANESE ECONOMIC STRENGTH. THE JAPANESE ARE NOW BEGINNING TO MOVE TOWARD FORMULATING A SEPARATE IF LIMITED REGIONAL LONG TERM ROLE FOR THEMSELVES AS REPRESENTED BY THE RECENT NOMURA REPORT.

3. JAPANESE-US RELATIONS: LUKIN PREDICTED THAT THE US WILL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN AS MUCH "CONTROL" AS POSSIBLE OVER THE JAPANESE. TOWARDS THE END OF THE VIETNAM CONFLICT, KISSINGER AND NIXON WERE SPEAKING OF A WORLD IN WHICH JAPAN WOULD BE THE FOURTH LARGE GLOBAL POWER, REINFORCING THE US POSITION IN THE WORLD ARENA. THEN US POLICY MAKERS BEGAN TO HAVE DOUBTS OVER US ABILITY TO "CONTROL" THE JAPANESE. THERE HAS SINCE BEEN A SHIFT IN US POLICY THAT, SIGNIFICANTLY, RESTRICTS US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO STRENGTHENING JAPANESE ANTI-SUBMARINE POTENTIAL AND PROVIDING JAPAN WITH SHORT RANGE AIRCRAFT. THIS SITUATION IS VIEWED FAVORABLY BY THE USSR.  
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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 13752 211327Z

RM JAPANESE-PRC-SOVIET RELATIONS: LUKIN REFERRED TO THE RECENT UPSURGE OF CRITICISM OF JAPAN IN THE SOVIET PRESS AND STATED THAT JAPAN IS AT A "CROSSROADS" IN FOREIGN POLICY. THE SOVIET CRITICISM IS DESIGNED TO WARN JAPANESE LEADERS TO CHART THEIR COURSE WITH MOSCOW'S VIEWS IN MIND. IN THIS REGARD HE CRITICIZED ANTI-SOVIET, PRO-CHINESE, "TENDENCIES" IN THE JAPANESE LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING THE LDP, AND SAID THAT MANY OF THE JAPANESE SCHOLARS AT THE RECENT MOSCOW SYMPOSIUM IN MOSCOW OPENLY ADVOCATED PLAYING OFF THE PRC AGAINST THE USSR. LUKIN EMPHASIZED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE TO STRONGLY OPPOSE THESE "TENDENCIES".

5. ECONOMIC POLICY: "IDEOLOGICALLY" JAPAN IS STRIVING TO PORTRAY ITSELF TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD AS A SOURCE OF TECHNOLOGY, INVESTMENT, CREDIT AND MANUFACTURED GOODS UNTAINTED BY THE PRETENSIONS AND POLITICS THAT GO WITH AN ENORMOUS MILITARY ARSENAL AND DEPLOYMENTS. JAPANESE LEADERS WITNESSED THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF MILITARY POWER IN PURSUING POLITICAL ENDS IN VIETNAM.

JAPAN KNOWS IT CAN PURSUE PROFITS UNDER THE  
US MILITARY UMBRELLA, AND COMPETE FAVORABLY  
FOR MARKETS AND OUTLETS FOR CAPITAL IN THE  
UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD.

6. LUKIN REFUSED TO CONNECT THE  
RECENT UPSURGE IN ANTI-JAPANESE PRESS CRITICISM,  
SOVIET FOOT DRAGGING ON FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS,  
AND DIFFICULTY IN SCHEDULING OF HATOYAMA VISIT TO MOSCOW WITH  
THE JOINT ECONOMIC MEETING IN TOKYO AND SOVIET  
DESIRES FOR BROADENED JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN  
SIBERIA.

7. A JAPANESE EMBOFF HERE EMBOFF HERE STATES THAT  
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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 13752 211327Z

SOVIET ANTI-JAPANESE PRESS CAMPAIGN MAY HAVE BEEN  
TIMED FOR THE ECONOMIC MEETING IN TOKYO, BUT THE  
JAPANESE FEEL LITTLE NEED TO BUCKLE UNDER SUCH  
PRESSURE. AS AN EXAMPLE, HE SAID THAT RECENTLY ANNOUNCED  
JAPANESE CREDIT FOR THE YAKUTSK COAL PROJECT WAS  
TO BE ANNOUNCED AT LAST YEAR'S JOINT ECONOMIC MEETING.  
ANNOUNCEMENT WAS POSTPONED WITH THE SOVIETS CANCELLED  
THE MEETING IN PROMISE AGAINST THE MIG 25 INCIDENT. HE ADDED, HOWEVER,  
THAT JAPANESE CANNOT AFFORD  
TO IGNORE SOVIET FULMINATIONS. THE CHINESE  
KNOW JAPANESE SOCIETY AND POLITY VERY WELL AND  
ARE EXTREMELY SKILLFUL AT STOKING ANTI-SOVIET  
SENTIMENT. MOSCOW'S APPROACH IS LESS ENLIGHTENED  
BUT SOVIET MILITARY POWER MAKES IT "VERY DANGEROUS"  
FOR JAPAN TO IGNORE MOSCOW'S VIEWPOINTS AND INTERESTS.  
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## Message Attributes

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